THE WOMAN'S

DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST

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SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' WIVES AT THE HOUSE

DEPUTATION OF LEAGUE OF RIGHTS FOR SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' WIVES & RELATIVES

On Thursday, March 16th, Mr. W. C. Anderson very kindly arranged for a committee room in the House of Commons for a deputation of fourteen soldiers' and sailors' wives and relatives, arranged under the joint auspices of the League of Rights and the Workers' Suffrage Federation. Mr. Anderson, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. King, Mr. Outhwaite, and other Members of Parliament were present. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Drake, and Mrs. Thompson accompanied the deputation.

PENSIONS.

In regard to pensions, the deputation urged that pensions should be granted in the case of every man invalided out of the army and navy, and in the case of every man in the services who dies or is killed. No exceptions to this rule should be admitted, or cases of hardship and injustice will inevitably result.

The deputation was of opinion that the pension and allowances should in every case be awarded on the full scale promised, the maximum allowances being all too small to compensate a man who has been crippled or whose health has been injured, even if he should be able to earn a little to supplement the Government allowance, which provides but a minimum subsistence. It was pointed out that an invalid costs more to keep than a person in health. If it should be impossible to secure that the pension shall be retained by every man who may become a wage earner, at least it should be agreed that deductions shall not be made in the pension unless the total income, including pension, exceeds £2 a week, or more, according to the size of the family.

The deputation expressed anxiety in regard to the scheme for settling disabled soldiers on the land. The scheme provided that rents should be based on a purchase price of £40 an acre. This seemed very high, and it might be difficult for the smallholders to make a living. Moreover, many men and their families might be unsuited to agricultural life and might prefer to remain town dwellers. It must be made plain that pensions and allowances must not depend on the recipients becoming part of the land settlement scheme or on any other such conditions.

The members of the deputation spoke feelingly in regard to the present appalling difficulties encountered by those who are discharged from the army destitute and disabled.

THE WOUNDED.

Scandalous delays occur even in the case of those who have been disabled by wounds. The following cases which have been dealt with by the League of Rights were quoted:—

PARALYSED IN BOTH ARMS.

Private —— discharged paralysed from wounds in both forearms and suffering great pain; unable even to feed himself. Delirious at times, wife unable to leave him. No money coming into the house. Pay and separation allowance had ceased on June 24th, 1915. On hearing of case on July 15th we wrote to War Office, Paymaster, and Chelsea Hospital. On July 25th pension of 25s. a week granted for 12 months conditional, and arrears from June 15th; this was sent through on July 20th.

SHATTERED LEG.

Private——R.F.A. Shattered leg—discharged January 11th. Had several operations in leg; wound still discharging; unable to work. We wrote to War Office on his behalf February 15th. 13th March 25s. a week promised by Chelsea Hospital for four months conditional.

4s. 8d. A WEEK.

Men disabled by illness have to wait still longer before aid comes. The following typical instances were given:—

Private ——. Suffering from Leucaemia (enlarged spleen). Served 12 years, 5 years spent in India. Received "exemplary" character and Indian Medal, 1897-98, and South African Medal, 1899-1900. Re-enlisted November, 1914; discharged unfit January 7th, 1916, again with an excellent character; been attending hospital ever since. Receives 10s. from National Insurance; this will soon cease. Has wife and 5 children, aged 15, 13, 9, 4 years, and 5 months. Very ill and suffering. Wife pale and feeble, and child at the breast also feeble.

On February 28th we wrote to Chelsea Hospital on his behalf; on March 7th received letter stating that the man would be paid 4s. 8d. a week for 33 months final. We have written to claim 25s. for the man and 12s. 6d. for the children, 37s. 6d. in all. Mr. and Mrs. —— are anxious not to be paupers, and in any case poor law relief is inadequate.

WAITED FOR EIGHT MONTHS.

Private——Five dependent children. Fought in Boer War, re-enlisted September, 1914. After 98 days under canvas, discharged unfit. Some intermittent help from S.S.F.A. Wrote to Chelsea Hospital March 22nd, 1915. On April 9th was awarded 10s. 6d. a week for 12 months conditional. Wrote asking for more, but refused because regulations allowed no more. Regulations altered, so wrote again June 11th. Increased on July 15th to 18s. 9d. a week for remainder of period; also 10s. for children. Wrote Chelsea Hospital July 21st asking for maximum of 25s. On September 11th, 1915, 8 months after discharge, pension increased to 25s. for himself and 2s. 6d. for each of five children.

DEATH IN DISMANTLED HOME.

Lance-corporal —— enlisted February 12th, 1903, on February 10th, 1911, passed as medically unfit for the Army Reserve. Called up August 5th, 1914, sent to Harwich. September 7th, 1914, discharged medically unfit. Whilst out of Army never lost time on account of illness. Illness due to exposure and cold, and sleeping out without mackintosh or blankets in wet weather. After discharge worked for a time, but became too ill to do so; tubercular. After delay received 14s. a week.

We wrote on July 17th, 1915, asking for increase and allowance for child. After much correspondence and several examinations, 25s. a week for man and 2s. 6d. a week for child, promised on July 17th, child's allowance to start from March 1st, 1915. Increased allotment for soldier to date from September 8th. Soldier died August 20th, the date of his promised increase of pension not having been reached, and his child's allowance promised from March not having come through. At the time of his death the family was in great distress, everything in the house having been sold except his bed and a chair; the child was ill through privation. Correspondence kept up with Chelsea Hospital and War Office. On October 29th, 1915, wife was promised pension of 15s a week for herself and child.

NO PENSION FOR STEPCHILD.

The deputation pointed out that the right to separation allowance won for the stepchild, the illegitimate child, and the unmarried wife, remains unconceded in regard to the pension, and the battle for these dependants must be fought over again where pensions are concerned.

Private—— motor driver joined October 8th, 1914, discharged February 26th, 1915, suffering from shattered nerves. Tried to get work, but was discharged as inefficient owing to nerves. Received no pension. Applied to us and we wrote to Chelsea Hospital for him December 7th. Reply received on December 30th that he would be examined. This was done on January 10th, 1915, but no pension having been received we wrote on January 28th asking Chelsea Hospital to hasten matters. In February, 1916, nearly a year after the discharge, 19s. 6d. a week granted for 6 months conditional. We wrote asking for larger allowance for the man and for grants for the children; reply on February 22nd, man only partially disabled, that nothing could be allowed for stepchild, aged 7, 1s. 3d. a week would be allowed for baby, but on February 25th Chelsea Hospital wrote that as the baby was born on April 14th, after soldier's discharge, there would be no grant for it.

THE UNMARRIED WIFE.

Even in regard to separation allowance, however, the unmarried wife does not always receive the fair treatment that has been promised. The following example, which shows the extra-

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ANOTHER SUCCESS IN CANADA.

Premier Scott, of Saskatchewan, has promised to introduce a Government measure to give women equal political rights with men. This will mean full womanhood suffrage and the right to election.

SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA.

FUTILE ATTEMPT TO UPSET IT.

When the Bill which gave votes to the women of the State of Illinois, U.S.A., was passed in 1913, "the liquor interests," says the *Woman's Journal*, "brought pressure to bear upon the State Supreme Court to have it called unconstitutional." This effort failed, and the next move was the introduction of a Bill to repeal the Votes for Women measure. This effort also failed. The composition of the Supreme Court having changed, and the great brewing district of Peoria now being represented, the liquor interests again began to agitate against the women's vote, but the Court has once more refused to declare the suffrage law unconstitutional.

BREWERS' BRIBERY

The *Philadelphia North American* reports that a United States Government investigation into corrupt political practices has revealed the fact that the anti-woman's suffrage campaign in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, when the suffrage amendments were defeated in those States last autumn, was chiefly financed by a number of great brewing firms. The vice-president of the Independent Brewing Company of Pennsylvania, Jim Mulvihill, and the president of the Pennsylvania Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, Neil W. Bonner, disappeared as soon as the investigation began. Both are well-known anti-

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THE NEW ERA.

A Russian Artist's view of Russia's treatment of her people towards the close of the Russo-Japanese War. What will happen NOW?

RUSSIAN METHODS.

The Russian Minister of the Interior, Mr. Khvostoff, has resigned. This is a victory for the Duma, which attacked him mercilessly during the discussion of the Budget. Underhand manœuvres have been ascribed to him, and he is said to have set aside £500,000 of Government money to secure the election of reactionaries to the Duma. He conspired with the ex-Minister of Justice, Mr. Scheglovstoff, to organise a Congress of the Black Hundred on a huge scale; 2,000 peasants were to be brought to Petrograd and back with free fares on the railways, and with instructions to demand the immediate dissolution of the Duma, but the campaign was disclosed by the *Bourse Gazette*, and the revelation forced Khvostoff to resign.

Workers' Suffrage Federation GENERAL MEETING, Bow Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Monday, March 27th, at 8 p.m.

suffragists, and Bonner, in addressing the Liquor Dealers' Protective League on October 7th last, said:

"I learn that President Wilson has declared that he will vote in favour of giving the ballot to women. I want to say to you, as president of the liquor dealers, that I intend to vote against giving women the ballot."

The *North American* states that 50 cents a barrel of beer, a total of £700,000, is paid by the brewers of Pennsylvania to the political organisations they support.

These revelations are certain to help the women of U.S.A. in the various suffrage campaigns that are in progress, for few members of the legislature will care to face the charge of being allied with the liquor interests. On February 22nd the Judiciary Committee of the New York Assembly presented a favourable report on a suffrage amendment by 11 votes to 1. The *New York Times* says that only a fortnight before, and prior to the liquor revelations, the Assembly was committed to the defeat of this amendment, but that it will now be passed by both the Assembly and the Senate.

Sunday Meeting

—400—

Bow Women's Hall, OLD FORD ROAD

March 26th,

7.30 p.m.

Speakers:

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"Education and the War"

Mr. SCOTT DUCKERS:
"Why the War should be Stopped"

***Chair:* Miss O'CALLAGHAN**

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Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service.

MISCHIEF-MAKERS

Those of us who wish to see the present system of society entirely transformed, are often dismissed as dreamers, when we try to bring before the minds of others the better days that are assuredly coming, in which the international commonwealth of the peoples shall be established.

If, on the other hand, we attack the most glaring of the present day evils that are dangerously sapping the vitality of the nation; if we urge upon the Government those solutions of immediate problems which we know in the light of our belief in the solidarity of human kind to be wise and just, we are accused of being grumblers and mischief-makers, and told that in face of the national emergency we should hold our peace.

It is obviously unjust that ex-Law Officers, ex-Cabinet Ministers, and others who have worked but a few years, and have drawn extravagantly large salaries for what they have done, should receive pensions at the rate of several thousands a year; whilst the old age pensioners, whose lives have been one long round of toil and privation, should be left to starve on 5s. a week.

Everyone can see that to force the vast majority of the populace to go short of what is necessary to their happiness and physical efficiency, in order that a few may build up fortunes larger than any of us need, is a cruel and wasteful outrage. Everyone realises that the employers of labour, urged on by the rising prices of materials, the keen competition of their trade rivals, and their own desire to make larger fortunes, are constantly trying to force the workers to work longer and more swiftly and to accept lower wages. We know that the combinations of employers are tremendously powerful, and that if the workers slacken the vigilance and efficiency of their own organisation they immediately lose ground. Yet we are asked to hold our peace and to let things go as they will—because we are at War.

But, even could we believe the War to have been inevitable, and our Government's part in it to be absolutely necessary, righteous and disinterested, still we should feel it imperative to work against the exploitation of the many by the few, because we know that the strength, efficiency, and staying power of the nation is dependent on the welfare of the majority of the people. The women are being called out into industry now because men are ceasing to do productive work and are given up to destruction. £5,000,000 a day is spent in destroying life and property. Imagine all the idle, able-bodied people who still do no work, coming out into industry, and the soldiers, sailors, and munition workers doing productive instead of destructive work. Imagine, also, the great fortunes that Mr. McKenna only takes a part of, and the £5,000,000 a day that goes to the War, spent in making life safer, happier, and more beautiful for all of us. Think of the slums swept away, the standard of comfort of the present sweated workers brought up, let us say, to that of a Labour Member of Parliament; and that of Lord Midleton and Lord Northcliffe, those preachers of thrift, brought down to the same point. Then you will have a very dim, imperfect realisation of the changes that a reasonable organisation of our social system might work and of the fact that if our present social organisation were not so infamously bad as it is at present, we should be more efficient as a nation, whether in peace or war.

Even if they are not convinced that it is the present system of capitalistic exploitation that has caused this War, it is difficult to understand why people who have once grasped the ideal of human brotherhood, forget it and throw themselves into the struggle to decide what set of capitalists shall exploit the people of Asia Minor, or even in a fight to extend or preserve a vast Empire in which the majority of the inhabitants are denied any form of representative government or constitutional liberty, and in which that hateful form of slavery called indentured labour is still riveted by the Government on those of our Indian fellow-subjects who are working in the tropics.

But, so far from the conflict being righteous, we know that the very system which condemns vast masses of our own British people to a perpetual struggle with sordid poverty, the system by which men and women invest their money and draw interest, which is really a mortgage on the productive work of others, for all time, is the system which has caused this War.

Therefore, instead of suspending our efforts to substitute co-operation for domination *because* of the War, the fact that the War has been possible should cause us to redouble our efforts to hasten the coming of better days.

Of course, we shall be told that fair and equal dealing between all people is impossible, and that as those who have power refuse to agree to justice, it will only cause trouble to agitate for it. But this counsel of despair and stagnation has been offered to all the reformers of all times. Our reply must ever be renewed persistence and the patient, unremitting effort to build up the strength and solidarity of those who work, not for personal gain and advantage, but to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

Those who are strong enough to decide who shall be the rulers need not grumble, because they are able to dictate. The pioneer, who must necessarily be ever in a minority, must expect to be accused of causing disaffection, and should listen only to the sternest of all critics who is within.

Women have before them a very hard and very urgent struggle, to obtain the vote, so that they may have power over Parliament, and to organise industrially.

We have been told to observe the Political Truce, but the Political Truce has never had any existence, except in the exchange of formal curtesies between politicians, and even in its outward semblance it is passing away.

For us there can never be a Political Truce, and the political signs tell us we must apply ourselves urgently to the work of gaining Human Suffrage.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

A STEP FORWARD.

On March 21st Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, announced to the Indian Legislative Council that the system of indentured labour which has been compulsory for all Indians emigrating to work in Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, Fiji, and Dutch Guiana, is to be abolished. Lord Hardinge said that he was glad that one of his last official acts should be associated with the ending of a system which had been productive of much "unhappiness and wickedness."

NO REPRIEVE FOR THE AGED.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has refused any increase to old age pensioners. He says he would not be justified in asking Parliament to add to the expenditure of the Exchequer.

Such misgivings never seem to trouble him when it is a question of voting £5,000,000 a day for war. The old adage, "Take care of the shillings," is, apparently, his motto! Nevertheless, the poverty of the old age pensioner is a disgrace to any nation, especially to one which boasts of its wealth and unlimited credit.

NO PENSIONS FOR NURSES.

In reply to questions, Mr. Forster had stated that whereas special allowances for lodging, fuel and light were granted to officers and nurses at the front, that these allowances for nurses are held to be "unnecessary" and have been withdrawn at a saving of £180,000 a year.

Mr. Hodge brought forward the case of the disabled nurses, rightly saying that whilst much is heard of the "nobility and courage" of the soldiers, little is said of the women who attend the wounded. He stated that nurses at the front or at the base hospitals who are wounded receive only 26 weeks' sick benefit and an invalid pension of 5s. a week from their approved societies, but neither pension nor gratuity from the War Office.

Mr. Tennant, replying for the War Office, said he did not know, but he thought Mr. Hodge must be mistaken in thinking there are no pensions for nurses.

* * * *

At the City Appeal Tribunal the military representative said: "When the appeal is not within the time, we take the man."

* * * *

Alan Kaye, aged 21, an Oxford Undergraduate, for distributing the N.C.F. manifesto, "Shall Britons be Conscripted?" was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, although he promised not to do it again. We published the manifesto in the "Dreadnought," and are still distributing it widely. We have not been punished. Moral: "Don't apologise."

THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

Mr. Lloyd George, in replying to questions, said that the subjects for discussion at the coming economic conference of the Allies in Paris had not yet been fixed, that the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Runciman, would attend as the principal representative of the British Government, and that the Japanese Government has been invited to send a representative.

The Budget debate on the Prussian Diet was an exciting one. The Socialists voted against it, Polish and Danish deputies abstained from voting.

Herr Stroebel, Socialist, attacked the Government for prohibiting any discussion on the aims of war and foreign policy. He was repeatedly called to order by the President.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

WOMEN STRIKE AT ARMSTRONG'S

We are informed that on March 17th 7000 women and girls employed at Armstrong - Whitworth's Munition Factory, Newcastle, struck work as a protest against their low wage of 2¾d. an hour for women between 18 and 20 and 3½d. for women over 20 years. The workers went to the factory as usual on Friday morning, but took crochet, knitting, and books with them. The foreman swore and bullied to no purpose. At 10 a.m. the management sent to ask that a deputation of the women should wait on the directors, and 40 women were chosen by their comrades.

The deputation asked the directors whether Lloyd George would care to work at Armstrongs for 2¾d. an hour.

One of the directors said: "What about the soldiers?"

A girl waved her hand and said: "Don't mention the soldiers. England at 2¾d. an hour isn't worth fighting for!"

The directors offered arbitration, but the deputation declared that the workers would accept nothing short of 22s. a week for a forty-eight hour week and the declaration that this sum would be paid posted up in black-and-white in every shop.

This was an unofficial strike, the organiser of the Trade Union having explained that striking is now illegal.

Who needs the vote most? The working-class mother. Other workers can use "direct action." They can strike to secure what they need. The working-class mother cannot strike. She ought to vote. See to it that a franchise Reform Bill comes soon and that it does not leave the mother out.

2½d. AN HOUR FOR HAND GRENADES.

At a meeting at Lady Hambledon's house on March 15th, Miss Margaret Bondfield remarked that although some women munitioners are earning £3 or £4 a week it can only be done by working overtime at tremendous pressure. On the other hand, she quoted cases of women who work five days a week from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m., on Saturday from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m., and on Sunday from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. The work, the making of hand grenades, was paid for at the rate of 2½d. an hour. Even in the sweated industry of tin box making the wage had been established at 3½d. an hour.

163 WOMEN FOR 100 JOBS.

The Board of Trade "Labour Gazette" for March gives the number of women applicants for every hundred situations vacant as follows: January, 1915, 167; December, 1915, 151; January, 1916, 163. The fact that there are still too many women applying for the jobs that are vacant is one of the factors which make it difficult for the women to force their wages up.

* * * *

Several hundred women are now employed on Tyneside at painting, screwing, counter-sinking, labouring, red-leading, scraping, bolt-screwing, joggling machines, and assisting platers' helpers.

What about their pay?

The position of women dockers at Liverpool is none too pleasant; the men refuse to work with them, although no reason has been given. We understand that the same rate of pay, *i.e.*, 5s. 6d. a day, was being given. The Dockers' Union puts forward the plea that the Union was not consulted before the women were brought in.

This seems a dog-in-the-manger attitude, to stand out against women being employed to supply the shortage caused by the enlistment of men—we could understand a strike if it were a case of under-cutting; but this is one of the few cases of equal pay for men and women, and we welcome it.

* * * *

In reply to the questions of the Stockholm newspaper, "Dagens Nyheter," about the effect of the war on Germany, Mr. Patrik Haglund, wrote:

"On the other hand, the position of the women seems to have undergone a change. Before the war the German women, with all their incontestable excellence, always appeared to me somewhat ridiculous in the way they "looked up" to every member of the stronger sex, even the most insignificant. Now they have an air of fearlessness and of conscious self-control. They give an impression of having realised what they now have to perform, of their new position in a community where in so many directions they are taking the place of men."

DEPUTATION

(continued from front page)

ordinary lack of comprehension, frequently displayed by S.S.F.A. officials, was quoted :—

Unmarried wife of Rifleman ——— lived together many years. They have children aged 11, 9, 7, 4, 2 years, and 5 months. Rifleman ——— has supported his wife and children as though married. He enlisted in the Rifle Brigade on November 28th, 1915, made allotment of 3s. 6d., which was deducted from his army pay. He was afterwards sent to prison for 3 months. Mrs. ——— received neither allotment nor separation allowance after January 17th. We wrote in regard to her on March 2nd. On March 6th received letter from Paymaster that the Walworth S.S.F.A. was instructed to relieve Mrs. ——— until her claim had been settled. Wrote to Mrs. ——— asking what was being done for her and she replied that on March 1st a lady from the S.S.F.A. gave her 7s., and the week previous to that the same lady had paid 6 weeks' rent for her, 3 weeks being in arrears at the time. On March 10th we wrote to the War Office, the S.S.F.A., and the Paymaster, pointing out that such relief was inadequate. On March 11th received a letter from the War Office stating that the separation allowance had been stopped because the soldier had made fraudulent use of a marriage certificate, presumably because he was in ignorance of the fact that unmarried wives and children are entitled to separation allowance. On March 17th the S.S.F.A. wrote stating that Mrs. ———, a woman with 6 children, the baby only 5 months old, was "in work, but her visitor collected privately some money to pay her back rent, etc." Evidently the visitor had not the heart to refuse all aid as the S.S.F.A. intended! The letter continued, "At her own request only 12s. a week is to be advanced to her until the separation allowance comes through."

A member of the Workers' Suffrage Federation who visited Mrs. ———, learnt from her that she had managed to get a little occasional charing, but had not a bit of food in the house when she wrote to us. She agreed to take 12s. a week from the S.S.F.A. when it was offered as this was a good deal more than she had been getting, and she was afraid that she might get nothing at all if she protested.

Punishing the Soldier Through His Family.

Protests were made against the unjust practice of stopping the wife's allotment in cases where the husband has committed some petty breach of discipline, several weeks' allotment being sometimes withdrawn because men have been a few hours late in returning to their regiments. It was also shown that London allowance is refused to wives recalled with their husbands from India or from barracks, and to those who from illness or other reasons have taken a country holiday. It was pointed out that a wife who has gone into the provinces with her husband, but whose parents live in London, will frequently wish to live near them when her husband goes to the front. She should not be refused London allowance on that account. If a family moves out of London, London allowance is stopped. It was urged that if a family moves into London for any reason, London allowance should be given.

No Help from S.S.F.A.

Mrs. ———, is a Belfast woman, and was married there. Husband, a Londoner, a Reservist, called up at the beginning of war, sent to France, returned wounded with one of his hands permanently injured. Obsessed with the idea that it would prevent him from defending himself, was afraid to go back to the front, and deserted, telling his wife that he was discharged. Settled with wife and child in London, was arrested as a deserter. Wife left without separation allowance for two weeks after his arrest. Applied to the S.S.F.A., but was told that the matter would have to be looked into, and received no help from them.

Husband's allotment stopped and London allowance is refused, therefore only 14s. a week for wife and child. Another baby is expected shortly.

Mrs. ——— had 5s. a week stopped for two weeks from her total allowance of 23s. 6d. because husband, Driver ——, who had been in Alexandria for 11 months, came home on Christmas Eve on sick furlough after enteric fever; overstayed his leave by two days.

Suffering for Official Mistakes.

The deputation asked that where either the paymasters or the post office officials make the mistake of overpaying the soldiers and sailors and their relatives through no fault of the recipients, the Government shall be the loser, and the recipients shall not be made to pay back. It is always harder to pay back out of a small wage or separation allowance than never to have had the increased amount. At the present time many soldiers' and sailors' relatives are put to extreme hardship by being forced to make good over-payments which have extended over many months. One case was quoted, in which, in order that she might make good an over-payment, a dependant was left from December 28th to February 2nd without any allowance at all.

Gratuities at Death.

The deputation claimed that there should be some uniform system in regard to the sums of money granted to the dependants on the death of a soldier or sailor, and that the relatives should be entitled to claim these as a right. A case was quoted in which a soldier's widow had been told that she was to have £7, but the S.S.F.A. had insisted upon banking all but 10s. of it. Another soldier's widow had been told that she was to have £2, but only got £1 4s., because the deceased soldier was said to have been overpaid.

Boys Under Age.

Several members of the deputation spoke of young sons and brothers of their own who had enlisted under age. Efforts to secure their release had either proved ineffectual, or the release had come after the boy had been seriously injured :—

A. McC., 17 in September, 1915, has always been delicate. Has four brothers fighting at the front. We wrote to the War Office and Lord Kitchener on behalf of his mother and sisters on April 2nd, 1915; they had been trying ever since he enlisted to get his release. Lord Kitchener replied on April 28th that it was the desire of the Army Council that no man should proceed on service abroad until he was 19, and that those unable to stand the strain were being sent back.

On April 30th, having learnt that the boy had returned from France wounded, and was in the Royal Herbert Hospital, Woolwich, we wrote again to the War Office, and received reply May 5th, asking for his birth certificate. The boy was then paralysed and not expected to recover. On May 16th sanction was given for his discharge. On September 13th we again wrote to the War Office protesting that the boy had not been discharged, but had been sent to rejoin his regiment at Fort Darland. On October 9th the War Office wrote stating that he had not been discharged before as he had not been fit to travel.

The boy was afterwards sent home, a gratuity being refused on the ground that his relatives had claimed him as being under age. As a matter of fact he was physically unfit to serve, and we believe that but for this he would not have been discharged.

Shall Committees Declare Allowances Forfeit?

A very serious grievance raised by the deputation lies in the fact that power has been given to the Statutory Committee, on the advice of the local committees, to declare that the pension or allowance of a soldier's wife shall be forfeit.

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE. On Tuesday, April 4th, at 8 p.m., at Central Hall, Westminster (Room B), A PUBLIC DISCUSSION, opened by Mrs. PEMBER REEVES, Rev. Dr. R. F. HORTON, M.A. (Chair), on "The New Industrial and National Position of Women." Among those taking part in the discussion will be Miss Beatrice Harraden, Miss Winifred Holiday, Miss Helena Normanton, B.A., Miss Esther Roper, Miss Helen Ward, and Rev. C. Fleming Williams. TICKETS, 1/- and 6d., to be obtained from 13 Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane E.C. *ADMISSION FREE.*

PUBLIC MEETING

Lees Hall

BARKING ROAD, CANNING TOWN

Saturday, April 1st, 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:

Mrs. Despard . Councillor Jack Jones

Mrs. Drake . Miss Sylvia Pankhurst

Chair: **Mrs. Parsons**

Music - - - Admission **2d.**

PARLIAMENT

As We See It.

March 14th.—Mr. Tennant, in reply to Sir Courtenay Warner, said that if it can be "brought home" that a recruiting officer has deliberately disobeyed instructions, "then suitable action will be taken."

* * * *

Sir A. Markham asked for a declaration from the Government that no boy of eighteen should be sent to the front. Mr. Tennant refused.

* * * *

A statement by Mr. W. Thorne that Messrs. J. Lilley & Sons, tape manufacturers, Derby, dismissed a number of women workers because they were members of a Trade Union was put off by Mr. Forster's usual evasion—"inquiry will be made."

* * * *

March 15th.—Mr. Philip Snowden asked Mr. Tennant to "make striking examples" of officers who act illegally by making such false statements as that made in Manchester that a man not married on August 15th, 1915, is officially held to be unmarried, whether married before November 4th or not.

Mr. Tennant replied that "if it were found that a recruiting officer were deliberately acting illegally, suitable action would be taken."

Mr. Snowden promised to find the War Office plenty of work.

* * * *

The question of a moratorium for soldiers was also brought up by Mr. Snowden, and Mr. Lloyd George said "the matter is receiving careful consideration."

When will the consideration lead to action?

* * * *

The unseemly treatment of conscientious objectors by Councillor Hopwood, a member of the local tribunal at Shaw, near Oldham, was commented on by Mr. Snowden, who quoted him as saying, on March 7th, that a conscientious objector was "exploiting God to save his own skin"; that he "was a deliberate and rank blasphemer," a "coward" and a "cad," and "nothing but a shivering mass of unwholesome fat."

Mr. Hayes Fisher replied that this case might safely be left in the hands of the local tribunal.

* * * *

Mr. Birrell said that he would be greatly pleased if the House would give him leave to repeal the old penal laws left by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, which denied to certain religious orders in Ireland the right of appeal to the Courts on the ground that they are outlaws. He hoped that the House would treat the matter as "uncontroversial."

We see no reason why the House should not also introduce a Bill to enfranchise British women, who are no better than outlaws. Such a measure ought also to be treated as "uncontroversial."

Clippings of material of all kinds (must measure at least 5 by 6 inches) can be used in our Toy Factory at 45, Norman Road, Bow, E., and will be most gratefully received if friends will kindly send them.

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CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

In the debate on the Army Estimates on March 15th Mr. Morrell further cross-questioned Mr. Tennant as to the meaning of the various statements made by him and by the Attorney-General as to whether a conscientious objector shall be liable to suffer the death penalty for failing to obey an order calling him to the Colours, or for refusing to obey further military orders to which he has a conscientious objection. Mr. Morrell put it that, according to the original pledge, those who refused to obey orders contrary to their conscience might be imprisoned, but might not be shot.

Mr. Tennant replied that only conscientious objectors whom the tribunals have admitted to be conscientious objectors are to be secured from the death penalty for refusing to take part in combatant service. He also appeared to imply that those who are admitted by the tribunals to be conscientious objectors may suffer the death penalty if they refuse to undertake non-combatant military service.

Everyone knows that in a large number of cases the Military Service Tribunals have refused to give exemptions to any of the conscientious objectors that have come before them. Therefore it appears that thousands of men must either sacrifice their convictions, or be prepared to die.

We trust that the conscientious objectors will stand firm, for liberty of conscience is unquestionably the most precious thing in life. Moreover, we know that Cabinet Ministers usually crumple up before a determined front—even the determined front of a small minority. Should the worst come to the worst, it is but a choice of death, and it is best to die with a clear conscience and clean hands!

Sir John Simon

On March 16th Sir John Simon was the first speaker in the adjourned debate. He said that the attested married men have two grounds of complaint. The first, that they were assured that an immense reservoir of unmarried shirkers would be tapped before they were called up, whereas the reservoir had proved to be imaginary, because, four days after the Military Service Act became law, it had been necessary to call up the first groups of married men.

Second, that they had been given to understand that if they were ever summoned to the Colours, full, fair and sympathetic consideration would be given to their domestic and commercial difficulties. The lack of consideration shown to the unmarried men, and especially to the widows' sons, was a proof that no reliance could be placed on this pledge. Sir John Simon further urged that once the voluntary principle is abandoned and compulsion is established, it becomes essential to decide what the ultimate size of the army shall be, with due regard to the provision of ships, munitions, and civil needs. He appealed to the Government to state whether they had come to any definite decision on this vital point.

Mr. Walter Long, in replying, for the Government, made no answer, merely complaining that the speech had caused him pain.

Mr. Outhwaite

The justification by the Under-Secretary of State for War of the refusal of tribunals to exempt conscientious objectors drew from Mr. Outhwaite a speech which caused great consternation in the House.

He began by saying that the Anti-Conscription Committee of Members of Parliament decided to offer to the Military Service Bill

"as little opposition as possible, because they were afraid of stimulating opposition to the coming law in the country. . . . We were given an assurance that the conscientious objectors would get fair treatment."

Now that the prejudiced tribunals and the military authorities are at their work, it is unnecessary to point out the weakness and folly of this attitude, an attitude which made possible the placing of conscription on the Statute Book, and for which the vague pledges

(Continued on back page, Col. 3.)

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EAST LONDON MEETINGS

Friday, March 24th.
Beckton Road, 4.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Miss Lynch, Mrs. Drake.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Debate. Opener, Mr. H. J. Morgan.

Saturday, March 25th.
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Mrs. Drake, Miss Bennett.
"The Dorset," Stratford, 12 noon, Mrs. Bouvier.
Morpeth Street, 3 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Well Street and Morning Lane, 11 a.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Stephen.

Sunday, March 26th.
Osborne Street, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Cressall, Miss Lynch.
"Boleyn," 11.30 a.m., Joint Meeting (with N.C.F.), Mrs. Bouvier.
Hyde Park (Marble Arch), 3 p.m., Mrs. Leigh Rothwell, Mrs. Drake.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Salter, Mr. Scott Duckers. Chair: Miss O'Callaghan.

Monday, March 27th.
"Whitehouse," 5 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Beamish.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., General Meeting.

Tuesday, March 28th.
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Miss Lynch, Mrs. Drake.
White Cross Street, 1 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Bow Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Miss Lynch.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Mrs. Scurr, Mrs. Drake.

Wednesday, March 29th.
73, Calderon Road, Leyton, 3 p.m., Mrs. Drake.
Chrisp Street, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Davies, Mrs. Drake.

Thursday, March 30th.
55, Fife Road, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Mrs. Parsons.
40, Glaskin Road, Well Street, 8 p.m., Miss Stephen.

Friday, March 31st.
Grundy Street, 12.30 p.m., Miss M. Price.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Miss M. Price, Mrs. Drake.
Beckton Road, 4.30 p.m., Miss Lynch.

Saturday, April 1st,
Vernon Road, 11.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Lynch.
Well Street and Morning Lane, 11 a.m., Miss Stephen.
Lees Hall, Barking Road, 7.30 p.m., Public Meeting.

Sunday, April 2nd.
Victoria Park, 3 p.m., Mrs. Davies.
Poplar Women's Hall, 7.30 p.m., Mr. Dubery. Chair: Mrs. Drake.

EAST LONDON BRANCHES

BOW.
Women's Hall, 400, Old Ford Road.
Secretary: Miss Lynch.

Our speaker on Tuesday afternoon was Mrs. Scurr on "Women and Local Government." A Branch Meeting for the election of representatives to the committee was held on Friday night. It was decided then to have a debate every Friday evening at 8 p.m., except the fourth in the month, when there should be a social, and a social the second Saturday in the month for the benefit of the "Dreadnought." Several members undertook to canvass a number of streets and to try to obtain new members. It is hoped that others will help in this way.

On Sunday morning a good meeting was held at Osborne Street. Mrs. Bouvier was the speaker. Miss Bennett, Miss Bertram, and Miss Carr are thanked for selling and collecting.

The meeting in Victoria Park on Sunday, at which Mr. Bracher and Nurse Smith spoke, was very successful. A good number of papers were sold and a collection taken.

Collection—open air meetings, 7s. 4d.

"Dreadnought" sales, week ending March 18th—1,002. Miss O'Brien 235, Miss Lynch 209, Mrs. Holloway 130, Mrs. Greer 47, Mrs. Bellyse 27, Mrs. Eglinton 18. General sales 336.

BROMLEY.
53, St. Leonard Street.
"Dreadnought" sales—per Mrs. Payne, 86.

POPLAR.
The Women's Hall, 20, Railway Street.
Secretary: Mrs. Drake.

We were pleased to have a visit from the Financial Secretary at our Branch Meeting on Tuesday, and hope to see her again very shortly. Good open air meeting in Chrisp Street on Tuesday and on Friday, when Mrs. Bouvier spoke. Good meeting on Sunday evening. Mrs. Shlette and Mrs. Hercbergova were very interesting and members enjoyed Mr. Chandler's singing. Pleased to see friends of Mr. A. Lagsding at this meeting and hope they will come again. Thanks to Mr. A. Retzlaff for selling tickets and keeping the door. Members are specially requested to call in at office and say what they will do to help at the demonstration on April 9th.

"Dreadnoughts" sold last two weeks—500. Mrs. Bird, 88; Mrs. Shlette, 38; Miss K. Lagsding, 55.

Self-Denial Collections—Miss Vine, 8s. 2d.; Miss Phoebe Lagsding, 7s. 6d.; George Bird, 4s. 10d.; Tilly Barker, 4s. 3½d.; Miss Rutter, 3s. 6d.; Mrs. Monkhouse, 1s. 5d.; Ivy James 1s. 4½d.; Mrs. Hurr, 1s. 0d.; Charlie and Ruby, 6½d.; George Clark, 4½d.; Miss McLeod, 2½d.; Miss Searle, 2d.

Milk collections—Miss Morley and Miss K. Lagsding, 9s. 8½.; Mrs. Drake, 7s. 7d.; Miss E. Lagsding, 5s. 6½d.

SOUTH-WEST HAM.
Centre for Tidal Basin: 55, Fife Road.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Daisy Parsons.

The meeting was well attended on Thursday, when Mr. Attlee spoke on "The Housing Question as it Affects Women." The doll was raffled for 1s. 6d., and was won by Mrs. Springer. The Hon. Sec. was re-elected unopposed; and Mrs. Mears and Mrs. Dunkley were elected for the Committee. Mrs. Walker spoke to a huge crowd at Beckton Road on Friday, and Mrs. Mears sold 32 "Dreadnoughts."

Collection—open air meeting, 7½d.

Self-Denial—Miss Feek, £1; Miss Beamish, 5s.; Mrs. Vine, 2s. 7d.

"Dreadnought" sales, week ending March 18th—139. Mrs. Mears 32, Mrs. Millo 27, Mrs. Vine 24, Miss Beamish 20, Mrs. Smith 12, Mrs. Bachmeyer 9, Mrs. Cullen 9, Mrs. Queery 6.

PROVINCIAL WORK.

A branch of the Workers' Suffrage Federation has been formed in Durham. Miss Ellis, Dundalk House, Neville's Cross, would be glad to hear from friends wishing to join. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will be in Durham during Easter week.

Mrs. Cohen, 12, Coventry Place, Leeds, wishes to get in touch with friends willing to form a branch in Leeds.

A branch of the Workers' Suffrage Federation is to be formed at Golder's Green.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Mrs. Boyce, whose headquarters will be at 31, Gristhorpe Road, Selly Oak, till April 17th, held an excellent meeting in the Bull Ring, in spite of the wet weather. Many members are being made.

Week-end collections—Casey's Meeting, Saturday, 9s.; Bull Ring Meeting, Sunday morning, 7s.

Membership fees, 2s. 1d.

Week-end "Dreadnought" sales—50.

* * * *

176 Mary Vale Road,
Bournville.

Dear "Dreadnought,"

The Birmingham Branch of the Workers' Suffrage Federation is a fact, and a lively one. The enthusiasm shown at a crowded meeting of the Stirchley Labour Church last night when it was announced that the recent visit of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst had resulted in a Branch of the W.S.F. being started in Stirchley, Bournville and King's Norton augurs well for its success.

Mrs. Boyce is a splendid organiser, and we hope to help her to build the Branch on a sure foundation. On Sunday morning she held a most successful meeting in the Bull Ring, Birmingham (the Trafalgar Square of the Midland city). On Monday she is to address a meeting of the Stirchley Co-operative Society, and as "Casey and his fiddle" will be there, she is assured of a good audience, and, we hope, a collection—for Sylvia's babies. I believe there is a tremendous future for the Workers' Suffrage Federation, because it has broadened the basis of the suffrage demand by initiating Human Suffrage—votes for all men and women.

We must also strive to get the thousands of women workers who have lately taken the places of men industrially organised; this should be part and parcel with the demand for adult suffrage.

The new days to come after the war require immediate preparation, and the country must be ready to accept the inevitable new conditions of millions more women in industry. They will produce huge additional wealth, and it is for all the workers to see to it that neither they nor the returned soldiers shall be exploited by the money-bags and the rent-lords. Conferences should be held AT ONCE in every industrial centre, of Trades Unions, Co-operative Societies, Suffrage Societies, and women's organisations to thrash out this subject, and Branches of the Workers' Suffrage Federation should be formed everywhere.

Yours,
Philip Durant.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
(Continued from page 449.)

contained in the Bill presented no justification.

Mr. Outhwaite went on to say that conscientious objections which are causing men to refuse military service are based on political and religious grounds. Those whose objections are political have been influenced, he said, by views expressed by Mr. Lloyd George, and he quoted Lloyd George's Queen's Hall speech on July 28th, 1908, in which he said of Germany:

"Her army is what our navy is to us—her sole defence against invasion. She has not got a two-power standard. She may have a stronger army than France, than Russia, than Italy, than Austria, but she is between two great Powers who, in combination, could pour in a vastly greater number of troops than she has. Do not forget that, when you wonder why Germany is frightened at Alliances and understandings, and some sort of mysterious workings which appear in "The Times" and the "Daily Mail." . . .

The reading of this speech was interrupted by cries of "Order," but Mr. Outhwaite went on to read a declaration signed by Mr. Arthur Henderson, now President of the Board of Education, in conjunction with Keir Hardie, on August 1st, 1914, on the eve of the declaration of war, as follows:—

". . . . Hold vast demonstrations against the war in every industrial centre to compel the governing class and their Press, who are eager to commit you to co-operate with Russian despotism, to keep silence and respect the decision of the overwhelming majority of the people who will have neither part nor lot in such an infamy. The success of Russia at the present day would be a curse to the world."

These, he said, were the sources from which the conscientious objectors got their political views—he wished that "these right hon. gentlemen had some regard for the position in which their followers were placed."

In regard to the religious objectors, he said, "It is a great surprise to me to find that there are actually men who try in a humble way and really believe they can, in this world of to-day, follow in all their activities the teachings of Christ." He went on to quote, as the source of the inspiration of many letters from objectors that he had received, the Sermon on the Mount; but Mr. Macpherson interrupted:

"Is it in order for any hon. member to speak contemptuously of this particular Book?"

Mr. Outhwaite protested that he had not spoken contemptuously, but that other Members had spoken contemptuously of those who follow the guidance of this Book. In South Africa they had been logical, for the Bible had been censored. When he asked where were the clergy and ministers who had forsaken their followers in religion, Mr. Outhwaite was again interrupted by several Members, and the Deputy-Chairman also intervened.

A Southend meeting, Sunday, March 19th, under the auspices of the local B.S.P., passed the following resolution with only one dissentient: "That this meeting calls upon the Government to stop the war by opening up negotiations for an immediate, honourable, and righteous settlement, also for M.P.s meanwhile to refuse to vote further supplies. We also re-affirm our belief in the international solidarity of the workers of all countries." The meeting specially requested that a report be sent to the "Woman's Dreadnought."

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TO DEMAND

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GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

General Fund.—Lady Warwick £5; Mrs. A. M. Burke £2; Miss E. Smith 5s. 6d.; Mrs. E. Leigh 5s.; Miss Cutten (monthly) 5s.; West Adams 2s.; Conscientious Objector 1s. 6d.

"Dreadnought" Fund.—I. Zangwill, Esq., £1 1s.; L. Coleman, Esq. £1 1s.; E. H. Williams, Esq., £1.

General Distress.—Miss Udney £2 2s. 4d.; Mrs. Dickinson £1 2s.; Messrs. A. Gliksten (monthly) £1 1s.; Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett (monthly) £1; Mrs. Durrant (monthly) 10s.; Mrs. Bell 10s.; Mrs. W. Thomas 6s.; Miss E. Morgan (monthly) 5s.; Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly) 5s.; Mrs. Newton 5s.; Mrs. Simpson (weekly) 2s. 6d.; per Mrs. Bouvier 5d.

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